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**Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse:
A structural analysis of intrasentential
code-switching patterns**

Summary of PhD dissertation

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1. Introduction

This dissertation focuses on the structural description of code-switching (CS) patterns in Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse. I define CS as the use of elements from two languages in the same discourse or within the same utterance. Erzya (or Erzya-Mordvin) is a Finno-Ugric minority language spoken in the Russian Federation. According to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (2016) it is a *definitely endangered* language with approximately 400,000 speakers. All the speakers are bilingual in Erzya and Russian, and their language use varies according to the extent of CS to Russian. While spoken discourse and informal written genres typically contain CS, contemporary formal written discourse lacks Russian elements, and CS is especially avoided in media products (Janurik 2016).

In my dissertation, I adopt a grammatical perspective although I am aware of the fact that CS is a multifaceted phenomenon, and agree with Backus (2015) and Muysken (2000) that only an interdisciplinary approach can yield an explanation of how CS really works. However, I also argue that a structural analysis as the first step can reveal the points that require further study involving quantitative research and not only naturally occurring data but also elicited sentences.

My hypothesis is that structural (in)congruence between the constructions in the two languages is one of the main causes for the emergence of mixed utterances, and the variation partly results from speakers applying different coping strategies. My aim is to describe how these incongruent constructions are switched and which switching strategies of the speakers are prototypical and which are idiosyncratic.

A major aim of this dissertation is to represent the variation attested in the use of CS strategies. In order to give an account of this diversity, I use an Erzya–Russian continuum model based on earlier continuum models (Auer 1999, Kovács 2001). Different points on this continuum represent the various CS strategies attested in the Erzya–Russian data. I assign speakers to categories and to given points on the continuum on the basis of the types and amount of CS they use. With this qualitative study of the data, I intend to make provisions for later quantitative research of these CS types.

2. Research questions

My dissertation pursues the following research questions:

(1) What are the main types of insertional switches in the two Erzya–Russian data sets?

(2) Which CS constructions can be described with the binary model of the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) (Myers-Scotton 2002)? In which cases does this binary model break down? Are these constructions instances of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000)? Can these cases be explained by the incongruence of the constructions in the two languages? What are the main strategies speakers use to realize CS in cases where the structures in the two languages are incongruent?

(3) How are CS and contact induced change connected? Are there any cases in which certain CS types might be indicators of ongoing change?

(4) Can we define different CS styles? Is there a correlation between the amount and types of CS in speakers' language use?

3. Outline of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured as follows. After the brief introduction in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 presents the sociohistorical background of the contact situation. I discuss basic information and statistical data on the Erzya speech community (section 2.1), focus on the present situation of Erzyas (section 2.2), and give an overview of the main historical events that influenced Erzya–Russian relations (section 2.3).

In Chapter 3, I provide a brief typological description of the two language systems, focusing primarily on morphosyntactic features, especially on genitive constructions and verbal morphology because these are the structures showing the greatest level of mixture in Erzya–Russian CS.

Chapter 4 is connected both to Chapters 2 and 3, as it discusses CS research conducted among Finno-Ugric peoples living in the Russian Federation (section 4.1), and earlier studies of Erzya–Russian bilingualism and CS (section 4.2). As some of the contact phenomena seem to be present in all contact scenarios, I suggest conducting a comparative study which could reveal further similar CS patterns and mechanisms.

In Chapter 5, I provide an overview of the theoretical background of CS, and discuss a variety of questions connected to CS studies: the definition of CS and its relation to borrowing (section 5.1), the question of constraints and the existence of a matrix language (section 5.2). In section 5.3, I discuss the

frameworks I use in my analysis. These include a binary model, the MLF model differentiating between a dominant matrix language (ML) and an embedded language (EL) (Myers-Scotton 2002), a typology applying an interdisciplinary approach (Muysken 2000) and frameworks connecting code-switching to contact induced change (Johanson 2002 and Backus 2015). After that, I discuss the role of equivalence and convergence in CS (Sebba 2009), and Gafaranga's 2000 model, which provides a framework for the analysis of the flagged switches. In section 5.4, I focus on two continuum models, Auer's 1999 and Kovács's 2001 models, which provide an apt tool for the demonstration of the variation attested in Erzya–Russian CS patterns.

In Chapter 6, the data and methodology are described. I discuss the characteristics of the two data sets (fieldwork data and radio interviews from Radio Vaygel) used in the analysis, reflect on problems encountered during fieldwork, and explain advantages and disadvantages of using this type of data for the analysis of CS. I also refer to the transcription principles I applied, and why I decided on using the Finno-Ugric Transcription (FUT) for both the Erzya and the Russian elements of the corpus.

Chapter 7 contains the main body of the paper, the analysis of the data. I use Muysken's (2000) typology for the categorization of the CS patterns, I distinguish between insertions, congruent lexicalizations, and alternations, but discuss instances of alternations separately (in section 7.1), as alternation involves CS mechanisms different from the ones at work in case of insertions and congruent lexicalization. In further subsections, the analysis of utterances with insertions and congruent lexicalization follows. First, I focus on discourse particles (section 7.2.1), then on nominal constructions (section 7.2.2), and finally, on verbal constructions (section 7.2.3). As mentioned earlier, flagged switches as a special type of insertions and alternations are discussed separately (in section 7.3). I catalogue the main types of flagged switches attested in my data and provide a possible explanation for their emergence.

In Chapter 8, I discuss the attested CS patterns and focus on the categorization of Erzya–Russian bilinguals on the basis of their language use. I place the speakers on a continuum (in section 8.1) which facilitates the description of the transition from a monolingual variety to a mixed variety, and of variation in CS in general. Section 8.2 discusses the main characteristics of Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse, whereas section 8.3 outlines future research perspectives. As my study provides only qualitative data on Erzya–Russian CS, I argue that further studies could focus on the quantitative analysis of the CS

types. By applying an interdisciplinary method described in Backus's 2015 usage-based model, an answer could be provided for the question what kind of sociolinguistic factors are behind the attested variation in bilingual Erzya–Russian speech.

Chapter 9 sums up the results of the paper chapter by chapter.

Finally, the appendix contains a listing of the interviews with the number of the recording and the categories to which I assigned the speakers on the basis of their switching types.

4. The Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse

In the analysis of the data, I apply a combination of Muysken's 2000 typology and the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 2002). The MLF differentiates between three constituent types: the ML constituents, the EL islands and the mixed constituents. In ML and mixed constituents, the morphosyntactic structure is set by the ML and the system morphemes also come from ML, while the structure of EL islands abides by the rules of the EL: "morphemes come from the Embedded Language and follow other well-formedness requirements of the Embedded Language (e.g. word order)" (Myers-Scotton 2006: 261).

I have based the analytical categories on the combination of these two models, differentiating between alternation, congruent lexicalization, and insertion; and dividing insertion into subtypes of ML constituents and EL islands (or mixed constituents with ML morphological markers).

4.1. Alternation

Alternation differs from insertion and congruent lexicalization profoundly, as in this case the ML changes, "there is a true switch from one language to the other, involving both grammar and lexicon" (Muysken 2000: 5). I divided alternation into two main types, depending on the fact whether the alternation has a pragmatic function or not.

Alternational switching is generally associated with the expression of pragmatic functions. For instance, Backus (2015: 42) argues that in the case of alternations, "speakers are said to switch for pragmatic reasons or to index their message with the values associated with the language switched to (such as modernity or local solidarity)." The main common pragmatic functions expressed by alternational CS "include drawing or directing attention, emphasizing or mitigating a message, expressing anger or emotion, etc." (Backus 2015: 42).

In my data, alternation occurs in the utterances of all speaker types. Its most common function is quotation. In example 1, speaker 200507, a mother is talking about her son with whom she speaks Russian, and the language use of the child is also exclusively characterized by Russian. Quoting the question of the boy triggers alternation, the Russian utterance appears in its original form as direct speech in the otherwise nearly monolingual Erzya discourse (Russian origin elements are marked with bold face and the discussed part is underlined):

(1) *śeďe śejeďste*   *karm-i*   *ńerńe-me*
    more frequently   start-3SG   whine-INF2
    koɡda   mama   ṕiďʹ-ot
    when   mother come-3SG
    iľi   ješčo   *meźejak*
    or   as.well   something
    'He starts to whine more frequently:
    "When is mom going to arrive?"
    Or something else as well.'

The quotation is embedded into an Erzya sequence, the preceding clause is clearly monolingual Erzya, while the following one contains two elements, the conjunction *iľi* 'or' and the adverb *ješčo* 'still' which can belong to either language. Thus, they make the switch back to Erzya easier. Apart from this Russian clause, the speaker's language use is characterized by only insertions of Russian discourse particles and nominal stems embedded into the Erzya ML with Erzya morphological markers.

Alternational code-switching has a unique role in the transfer of foreign elements into the receiving language. Although it involves a complete switch which enables the speaker to avoid possible incongruences between the two languages, the frequent use of Russian elements can change their degree of entrenchment. Backus (2015) argues that alternation is also responsible for the entrenchment of the discourse structure allowing for further alternational switching.

Alternation is thus also connected to congruence. If a construction is incongruent, i.e. the structure of a given phrase is different in the two languages, it can result in a double construction which is a typical case of alternation. For instance, both the preposition from Russian and the suffix required by Erzya are present in the construction, or the whole phrase is repeated, as in example 2. The Russian prepositional phrase *do dvuh ľet* and

the Erzya construction with the illative suffix are both used in a double construction by the speaker (201101). Russian numeral phrases are typical switch types in spoken Erzya, resulting partly from the fact that mathematics is taught in Russian in schools.

(2) *pek višińe-ť* ***do dv-uh ľet*** *kavto ije-s*
very small-PL until two-GEN.PL year.GEN.PL two year-ILL
'Very small ones, under the age of two, under the age of two.'

4.2. Insertion and congruent lexicalization

In this section, I study the intrasentential switch types occurring in my data. In section 4.2.1, the analysis focuses on discourse particles followed by the study of nominal constructions in 4.2.2 and verbal constructions in 4.2.3. The overview of these CS types is not comprehensive. In every section, I choose one type of construction I focus on.

4.2.1. Discourse markers

These one-word switches are present in the utterances of even the least frequently switching speakers, thus, they characterize all types of Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse. Muysken (2000) categorizes discourse markers as subtypes of alternation. In my opinion, they can be considered also insertions in some of the cases depending on their position in the utterance. The switching of discourse markers could be analyzed as instances of alternation only if the two languages could be unambiguously separated in the discourse. However, as a result of intense contact and conversion, the discourse particles cannot be categorized as uniquely Russian elements. They are established borrowings in Erzya, discussed also in conservative descriptive grammars as elements of the Erzya vocabulary (cf. EKM 2000: 260–267, or Jerina 1997). As a result, I consider them to be an in-between category which can occur as instances of insertion and alternation as well. I argue that discourse particles in the Erzya–Russian CS discourse can be regarded as elements belonging to both languages, and as bridge words they facilitate smoother switches.

In this section, I focus only on the discourse particle *vot* 'here is, this is, look' which is attested both in a nested and in a peripheral position in the utterances of all types of speakers. In example 3 (speaker 20151118), the discourse particle *vot* 'here is, this is, look' occurs in a nested position, consequently it can be considered an insertion.

(3) *jutavt-ińek*   *nalkśema isťa **žo** **urok**-sto-ńť*   ***to-jesť***
    organize-PST.1PL game   so   too   class-ELA-DEF.SG   that.means
    *ejkakš-tne   avoľ **<u>vot</u>**   **ćela**   **urok**asťe-śť*   ***parta** ekšse*
    child-DEF.PL not look   whole class stay-PST.3PL desk   behind
    'We organized a game also during class so the children would not stay behind their desks the whole time.'

4.2.2. Nominal constructions

From among nominal constructions, I have focused on numeral phrases that involved mainly Russian EL islands, but also hybrid structures used in expressing approximation. The incongruent constituent order also results in mixed constructions in possessive structures. I have argued that the Russian type order has been spreading as a result of CS, thus we are observing possible ongoing contact induced change.

4.2.2.1. Numeral phrases

In my corpus, there are two main types of numeral phrases inserted into Erzya utterances. On the one hand, there are constructions in which both the quantifier and the head noun are Russian origin elements and the structure of the phrase abides by the rules of Standard Russian. On the other hand, there are hybrid bilingual constructions in which the quantifier is typically Russian and the head noun is Erzya, but other mixed forms are also attested in the corpus.

Russian and Erzya numeral phrases are incongruent. In Erzya, the numeral phrase requires a nominative argument which is in the singular after the number 'one', and in the plural after numerals higher than two. Russian has a more complicated system: depending on the numeral, the nominative singular, the genitive singular, or the genitive plural is the required form.

Incongruence is most typically avoided by the insertion of an EL island, i.e. a constituent that contains only EL system morphemes. In example 4, the Russian prepositional phrase *na tŕi goda* 'on three years' is inserted as an EL island in the Erzya frame. The Erzya phrase *kolmo ijeďe* (three year-ABL.SG) which would occur in a monolingual Erzya utterance is substituted by its Russian equivalent along with the preposition required by the rules of the Russian language.

(4) *śe   paťa-ś*   **_na tŕi god-a_**   *moń-ďe* **starši**-*ľ*
     this elder.sister-DEF.SG on three year-SG.GEN I-ABL.SG old-PST2.3SG
     'That elder sister was three years older than me.'

In example 5 (speaker 201015), the Russian origin noun *kiloḿetra* 'kilometer' serves as a bridge word between the two languages. It can be interpreted as a Russian genitive singular form, or the nominative singular in Erzya.

(5) *mińek viŕ-eńek…*   **_naverno kiloḿetra_** _kavto_   *ejste-ďe-ńek*
     we.GEN forest-POSS.1PL perhapskilometer two from-ABL-POSS.1PL
     'Our forest is perhaps two kilometers from us.'

The morphosyntactic structure of the phrase relies on a composite matrix. Approximation is expressed through inversion as in Russian (*kiloḿetra dva tŕi* 'around two or three kilometers'). In monolingual Erzya, it would require the comparative suffix *-ška* (*kavtoška kolmoška kiloḿetrat* 'around two or three kilometers'). The numerals are in Erzya, which would entail that the noun is in the plural, thus *kiloḿetrat* 'kilometers' would be the required form. Consequently, the arising construction violates the rules of both languages. The most likely explanation is that the Russian construction is started and the switch occurs within the phrase without any hesitation, without any pauses.

4.2.2.2. Nominal phrases with a genitive modifier

Possessive structures are formed differently in the two languages. Erzya requires a possessor–possessee order, while in Russian, the possessee–possessor order is the default. There is a discrepancy in the form as well. While possessors are in the genitive case in both languages, in Erzya the possessee can have a possessive suffix as well. Resulting from this discrepancy, there are different ways CS can be realized in these constructions. The incongruence is neutralized if the Russian construction is inserted as an EL island, i.e. as a chunk, into the utterance (example 6).

In example 6 (speaker 20140318), the Russian possessive structure *v'id podďeržki* 'type of support' is inserted into the Erzya frame also

without any Erzya morphological markers. However, the structure has an Erzya attribute *isťamo* 'such'.

(6) *uľ-i   ńej isťamo **v'id podďeržk-i**   ľem-eze*
    be-3SG now such   type   support-GEN.SG name-POSS.3SG
    ńesv'aźann-aja   podďeržka
    unconstrained-F   support
    'There is now such type of support which is called unconstrained support.'

In example 7, the Russian genitive marker is replaced by its Erzya equivalent: instead of the Russian genitive ending *-a* (*saďika* 'kindegarten's'), the Erzya definite genitive ending *-eńť* is applied (*saďikeńť* 'kindegarten's').

(7) ***i aťťestacćija saďik**-eńť*   *ťeďeďe* **nav'erno** *karm-i*
    and attestation kindergarten-GEN.DEF.SG this.year probably   will.be-3SG
    'The accreditation process of the kindergarten will probably take place this year.'

The inverse genitive constructions are typical with Russian stems, but there are indications for their use also with Erzya stems. Example 8 is an unambiguous case of congruent lexicalization or composite CS, as described by Myers-Scotton (2003: 189). The mechanisms in composite CS are similar to convergence "(i.e. all the surface morphemes come from one variety, but part of the abstract structure comes from another variety)" Myers-Scotton (2003: 190).

(8) *stuvt-iń   ľem-eze   moro-ńť*
    forget-PST.1SG   name-3SG.POSS   song-GEN.DEF.SG
    'The name of the song is "I forgot".'

4.2.3. Verbal constructions
Using Muysken's (2000) categories, the majority of the code-switched verbal constructions can be categorized as insertions, both EL islands and mixed constructions as defined in the MLF model. In the first case, the Russian element is inserted into the morphosyntactic frame set by the ML with Russian system morphemes, whereas in the second one,

the system morphemes come from Erzya. In addition to these clearcut cases, however, there are hybrid constructions in which identifying the ML proves impossible.

In this section, I study neccessive constructions involving not only verbal predicates but also the adjective *dolžen* 'must' which has no equivalent in Erzya. This results in hybrid structures involving the use of both Erzya and Russian elements. Consequently, a switch occurs inside the construction which has the following elements in the present tense: the subject in nominative + the predicative adjective *dolžen* 'must' which agree with the subject in gender and number, and accordingly has four forms, namely, the singular masculine (*dolžen*), the singular feminine (*dolžna*), the singular neutral (*dolžno*), and the plural form (*dolžni*) which is used with plural subjects of all genders + the infinitive (Wade 2011: 341–343).

In example 9 (speaker 20130924), only the negated predicate is in Russian, all the other elements of the construction are in Erzya. This example also illustrates the general tendency in my data according to which no switching is attested between the negative particle and the predicate or the auxiliary negative verb and the connegative form. In example 9, the predicative adjective and the negative particle are inserted as a chunk into the utterance. The arguments (the Experiencer *miń* 'we' and the infinitive *kadoms* 'leave') are both in Erzya:

(9) *miń **ńe dolžn-i** kad-oms sonze eŕav-i soka-ms i viď-ems*
    we not must-PL leave-INF1 it.ACC must-3SG plough-INF1 and sow-INF1
    'We should not neglect it, we must plough and sow it.'

In addition to constructions with the predicative adjective *dolžen* 'must', another typical case of neutralization in the Erzya–Russian CS data is the emergence of gender agreement involving Russian finite predicates with a feminine marker.

These utterances most typically contain pronominal subjects, as example 10 (speaker 200511). The only Russian element of the utterance is the past tense predicate. The morphosyntactic frame is set by two languages.

(10) mon mejľe **_reši-l-a_** tosto tu-mo kudo-v
    I later decide-PST-F from.there come-INF2 house-LAT
    'I decided later to come back home from there.'

Example 11 (speaker 201007) is an instance of hypercorrection or overcompensation for the lack of gender agreement in Erzya. In Standard Russian, the masculine noun *reb'onok* 'child' would not trigger the use of the feminine form of the predicate, in the mixed Erzya–Russian utterance, however, gender agreement occurs.

(11) *obmoće-ś moń* **_vtoroj reb'onok tože_** **_postuṕi-l-a_**
    second-DEF.SG I.GEN second.M child too enter-PST-F
    Ardatovskoj **_meďićinskoj_** **_učiľišče_**-*s*
    Ardatovskoj medicine college-ILL
    'My second child also got accepted in the medical college.'

While the predicate *postupila* 'she entered (college)' agrees with the subject in gender (not the grammatical gender of the word, but the natural gender of the referent), the adjective *vtoroj* 'second' in the attributive position is the masculine form, because the word *reb'onok* 'child' has masculine as grammatical gender. This example seems to prove that, at least in case of the past tense predicates, the natural gender (that the child is a girl) is the main factor controlling agreement and not the grammatical gender of the word.

As regards gender agreement, two tendencies can be observed on the basis of the attested utterances: the use of gender agreement seems to be spreading, and the point where the subject is located at the animacy hierarchy seems to influence the choice of the verbs form. While most elderly speakers have always applied the masculine past tense form of the Russian verbs, younger speakers already use the feminine forms with animate, especially [+ human] pronominal subjects.

4.3. Flagged switches
While the emergence of flagged switches can be partly explained on structural grounds, with the avoidance of incongruent switch points, other instances of flagging are, instead, medium repairs. "In medium repair, the speaker draws on other languages in his/her repertoire and

signals the other-languageness of the element used" (Gafaranga 2000: 344). In these cases, speakers name the language they switch to, or they indicate that this is the expression people usually use. Medium repair can involve translation, too.

In case of the reporters' turns in the Vaygel radio interviews, there are a number of switches which are flagged through the use of the above mentioned type of phrases (*ruzks meŕems* 'to say it in Russian'). In example 12 (interview 20130813), the reporter (R1) uses four ways for flagging the switch: she produces two synonyms of the switched word *iďeja* 'idea', names the language, and applies the determiner *kodatkak* 'some kind of':

(12) *paŕak   ťe   ška-ś   uľ-iť'   koda-t-kak   **ruz**-ks*
maybe this time-DEF.SG be-3PL some.kind-PL-EMP Russian-TRA
*meŕ-ems   **iďeja**-t meľ-ť'   aŕśema-t*
say-INF1   idea-PL opinion-PL   thought-PL
'Maybe at this time there are some kind of, to say it in Russian, ideas, thoughts.'

The other type of flagging is involves the insertion of a dummy element into the utterance to circumvent the need for harmonization of incongruent constructions in the two languages. The most frequent dummy element in Erzya is the stem *ťeńa* 'whatsit', which can be used both as a nominal and a verbal stem. In example 13 (speaker 201001), the equivalent of the Russian prepositional phrase is the Erzya dummy stem *ťeńa* 'whatsit' with the translative case suffix (-*ks*) which enables a switch between the two, incongruent structures.

(13) *moń meŕ-ems ťeńa-ks   **po**   **muž**-u*
I.GEN say-INF1   whatsit-TRA according.to   husband-DAT.SG
***famiľija**-m   M…[1]*
surname-POSS.1SG   M…
'My, let's say, er, after my husband, my surname is M…'

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[1] I do not disclose the full name to protect the identity of the speaker.

5. Summary of the results

My hypothesis has been that there are structural reasons responsible for the emergence of mixed forms, and variation is caused by the speakers' different coping strategies when facing incongruence. This has proven only partly to be correct. In the analysis of flagged switches and alternations, the structural incongruences have explained CS only to some extent. Flagging, however, has been found to occur also in congruent constructions in which the flagging of the switch can be related to purism. There are examples of flagging that are instances of lexical gaps, where the speaker is looking for the right word. The ordering of the forms (Russian–Erzya vs. Erzya–Russian) is significant, since the former pattern can be explained by purism, while the latter with structural incongruence and lexical gaps. As a result, although structural (in)congruence has an explanatory force in the majority of cases involving mixed constructions, in a further complex analysis also pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects would need to be taken into consideration.

Finally, the answers for my research questions are as follows:

"(1) What are the main types of insertional switches in the two Erzya–Russian data sets?"

The main types of insertional switches are discourse particles and adverbs, numeral phrases, prepositional phrases, possessive structures, and necessive constructions, accompanied by verbal switches inserted as EL islands or as parts of mixed constituents. Thus, CS patterns in Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse are partly similar to the types attested in other Finno-Ugric languages in contact with Russian. While Russian numeral phrases occur in many minority languages due to education in Russian, the structural transfer of possessive structures has not been described in other contact situations. Moreover, the emergence of gender agreement has proved to be a strong tendency in my data, which is significant as an indicator of the extent of Russian influence and the intensity of the contact.

"(2) Which CS constructions can be described with the binary model of the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) (Myers-Scotton 2002)? In

which cases does this binary model break down? Are these constructions instances of congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000)? Can these cases be explained by the incongruence of the constructions in the two languages? What are the main strategies speakers use to realize CS in cases where the structures in the two languages are incongruent?"

The MLF model has been found to be applicable in the analysis of insertions but not concerning instances of congruent lexicalizations, in which the morphosyntactic frame of the utterance is provided by two languages, e.g. in bilingual numeral phrases expressing approximation, or mixed constructions showing gender agreement. Hybrid constructions have been found to occur as a result of incongruence. However, this compromise mixed form has not been the only strategy speakers have been found to apply in the case of incongruence, since neutralization, i.e. the avoiding of the "problematic" construction, is also a widespread strategy, and the speakers inserted Russian form as chunks, as EL islands in Erzya utterances.

"(3) How are CS and contact induced change connected? Are there any cases in which certain CS types might be indicators of ongoing change?"

There seems to be a clear connection between CS and contact induced change in that frequent CS contributed to the entrenchment of once foreign forms. In my opinion, the variation attested in the possessive nominal constructions and the spreading of gender agreement are indicators of ongoing change.

"(4) Can we define different CS styles? Is there a correlation between the amount and types of CS in speakers' language use?"

I have been able to identify different CS styles, ranging from a light-switcher speaker type I have designated as C1 speaker to a heavy-switcher C3 speaker with C2 speakers in-between, who switch more frequently than C1 speakers, but the ML of their utterances is still mainly Erzya. The CS styles have formed a continuum, the categories have not been defined as rigid entities, instead, as phases of a spectrum. While light-switchers have been found to apply mainly insertions, flagging, and

switches with pragmatic functions, heavy-switchers seem to engage in frequent CS without a pragmatic function, and their utterances are often based on a composite ML, with mixed constructions characterizing their speech.
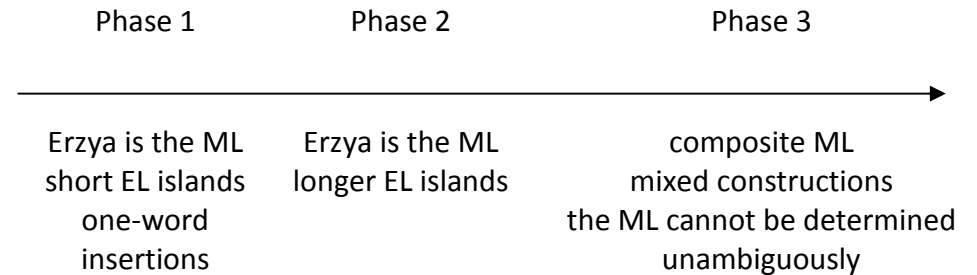
Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3
Erzya is the ML short EL islands one-word insertions	Erzya is the ML longer EL islands	composite ML mixed constructions the ML cannot be determined unambiguously

Figure 1. Continuum model for the Erzya–Russian bilingual discourse

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